

# THE REMONSTRANCE.

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The Remonstrance is published quarterly by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. It expresses the views of women in Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Oregon, South Dakota, California, Maryland, and other states.

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MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN,  
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Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

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## THE BLUNDER IN WISCONSIN

THE probable unconstitutionality of the pending suffrage referendum in Wisconsin, to which reference was made in the last REMONSTRANCE, is attracting increased attention.

The proposal takes the form of an amendment to the statutes making the qualification for the suffrage read "Every person male or female," etc. But in Wisconsin as in other states, the qualifications for the suffrage are fixed primarily not by statute, but by the constitution, and amendments to the constitution require the favorable action of two successive legislatures before they can be submitted to the people. The point at issue is clearly stated in a letter printed in the Daily North-

western of Oshkosh of August 7th, the writer of which, after citing the full text of the suffrage article of the constitution, shows that the clause on which the proposed referendum is based is but a sub-section of the section which contains the restriction of the suffrage to male persons, and must be taken in connection with the context. He says:

In other words, sub-section 1 makes "citizens of the United States" qualified electors, — but they must be "male persons" under the first paragraph of the section.

Sub-section 2 makes "persons of foreign birth," etc., qualified electors, but they must be "male persons" under the first paragraph of the section.

Sub-section 3 makes "persons of Indian blood," etc., qualified electors; but they must be "male persons" under the first paragraph of the section.

Sub-section 4 makes "civilized persons of Indian descent," etc., qualified electors, and allows the legislature to extend the right of suffrage by law, subject to a referendum, to persons not enumerated in the different sub-sections; but surely this sub-section, like the others, is subject to the fundamental restriction contained in the first paragraph of section 1, — namely, that they must be "male persons."

The Daily Northwestern, commenting editorially, August 8th, upon this letter, admits that there is ground for the argument, and adds:

It is entirely probable that, in case the coming referendum should result in a decision by the voters favorable to woman suffrage, this right may not be gained without an appeal to the supreme court on the grounds mentioned, to clear up this claim of unconstitutionality.

This attempt to get the ballot in Wisconsin by a short cut instead of by complying with the plain requirements of the constitution is perfectly in keeping with that impatience of

restraint which characterizes suffrage movements; and it seems likely to afford a fresh illustration of the truth of the ancient adage, that "Haste makes waste."

## THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING

THE Colorado legislature, which enjoys the distinction of being the only legislature with women members, passed at its recent session, in spite of the indignant protests of the decent element of the public and the strong opposition of the Governor, a bill to legalize race-track gambling.

The deplorable fact is recorded that all four of the women members voted for the bill.

Apologists for conditions in the suffrage states are in the habit of insisting that women cannot be held accountable for what is done simply because they have the ballot. But these women in the Colorado legislature are surely responsible for their own votes. By casting them for this bill, they did what they could to disprove the claim that woman suffrage means cleaner politics.

What Governor Shafroth, himself an ardent suffragist, thought of the women members of the legislature may be inferred from the following extract from his message vetoing the bill:

We are looked upon as a progressive state, one where the influence of the mother and wife, by reason of the existence of equal suffrage, is exerted upon all public questions. We know they are against such measures, but let this bill become a law and the finger of scorn and ridicule will ever after be pointed at the influence of woman's franchise in state affairs.

It is a homely old adage that "the proof of the pudding is in the eat-



ing." Is there any better way of judging what the political woman would do than to observe what she actually does, when she has the chance?

#### MY LADY AND HER COACHMAN

SAYS the suffragist angrily: "Is it right that Mrs. Belmont should be denied the ballot when her coachman has it?"

Stop a minute: Does any one seriously propose to give Mrs. Belmont the ballot without giving it also to the coachman's wife? These class distinctions are undemocratic and odious, but if they are brought forward as argument, let it be remembered that they will not be effaced by woman suffrage.

The state cannot enfranchise individuals or groups of individuals, however public-spirited or intelligent. What is asked is that it shall admit a sex as a sex to the electorate; and the fundamental question is whether that sex, as a sex, is politically ready for the vote.

Are women, as a sex, sufficiently familiar with political issues to be able to exercise the suffrage wisely and for the best interests of society? Few candid persons will contend that they are. It is not enough to reply that some are already able and that others will become able in process of time. Suppose it is argued that, after a long time,—after they have had a like training and experience with men,—women may be as well qualified as men for the ballot. Why should the state be called upon to pay for all the mistakes which may be perpetrated during this slow process of education? And in what respect will the state be better off if, after this slow and painful process of educating the new electorate is completed, it finds that it has simply doubled the number of voters?

From the point of view of the public good, the only possible justification of woman suffrage would be that women, all classes of women,

all grades up and down, would vote more wisely and unselfishly than men of all classes and grades. It would be a rash suffragist who should seriously make that claim.

#### "FOREIGN NAMES"

DR. ANNA SHAW's declaration, quoted in the July REMONSTRANCE from the New York Mail and Express of May 25th, that "Senator Grady and men like him, bearing foreign names, should not have the right to vote upon a question of this sort" has called out sharp criticism.

The Haverhill Record of July 20th, remarks: "Calling an Irish-American a foreigner certainly isn't likely to help the suffrage cause, here or elsewhere."

The Fall River Globe of July 21st, quoting from THE REMONSTRANCE Dr. Shaw's remark, says forcibly:

Besides being spiteful that is rather indiscreet. It might, moreover, warrant one in supposing that the female suffrage movement and APAism were somewhat identical. Certain it is that it can never win if its leaders are to rely solely on the support of voters with American names and only members of congress and state legislatures bearing such cognomens. The lady has left herself open to merited criticism by manifesting such a spirit of bigotry and is liable also to create a prejudice in quarters where she would need to look for help in behalf of the woman suffrage propaganda.

The Dubuque, Iowa, Times, in its issue for July 22d, also quoting from THE REMONSTRANCE, expressed the opinion that the cause of woman suffrage never received a greater setback or was put in a more inglorious light than when Dr. Shaw thus "revived an old cry that has long since been repudiated in this country." The Times went on to say:

Her condemnation of Senator Grady, because in New York assembly he voted against woman suffrage, cannot be taken other than as a revival of the Anti-European crusade that in earlier days struck at the bulwarks of American independence. Her expression, if it represents the opinion of the suffragette movement in gen-

eral, is a sad commentary on the intelligence and patriotism of the women who desire the ballot. Those women who are sincere in desiring the ballot for purposes of civic and moral reform should lose no time in repudiating the doctrines of their leader.

#### BOYCOTTING PHILANTHROPIES

THE National Woman Suffrage Association has printed and is distributing the following slip, which it urges all suffragists to use in reply to all appeals sent to them for money:

Until women are enfranchised, efforts to ameliorate social conditions can be at best but crippled. Therefore, I have decided to give such time and money as I can spare to those causes only that will bring about the political freedom of women.

The Association tells its members that this slip, "if used in large numbers will have a marked moral effect," and "will serve for propaganda." The plain English of this, of course, is that suffragists are asked to boycott all philanthropies and to refuse to give money to religious or charitable or humane causes of any sort until,—if ever,—they secure the ballot. Apparently, this decision has been reached by English as well as by American suffragists, for the English "Votes for Women" prints the following:

A well-known suffragette, who received appeals recently from various charitable societies, has written to them all, stating that she would willingly contribute, but that, in common with hundreds of women, she withholds any and all support to charities until such time as women's demand for political enfranchisement is recognized. This, she points out, will enable women to deal with the root of the evil at which so many charitable societies are only tinkering.

This policy recalls the attitude of the child who refuses to play, unless it can have absolutely its own way; but it is a good deal more serious than this comparison suggests, for suffragists are directly urged to



abandon every good cause in which they are interested and to turn a deaf ear to all appeals of human need, in order that they may give all their time and money to the suffrage cause.

Although not all suffragists are ready to adopt this narrow and short-sighted course, Miss Blackwell herself, the editor of *The Woman's Journal*, disavowing it, the action must stand as the deliberate policy of the National Association.

#### "MORE THAN NERVE"

COMMENTING upon the fact that the great national woman suffrage petition submitted to Congress in 1910 bore the names of only 163,438 women after the country had been scoured to secure them, the *Milwaukee Free Press* truthfully says: "It certainly required something more than nerve to request the men of our national legislature to change the whole status of forty-five million women, girls and girl children at the request of an infinitesimal percentage of the sex."

Passing to the consideration of what is involved in woman suffrage, the *Free Press* remarks:

The majority of women is instinctively opposed to its entrance into the fields of politics and government, but there are vital reasons involving the inevitable changes which the grant of the ballot would bring about in woman's social and economic status, which, if properly laid before the sex, must add conviction to what as yet is intuition.

It is an amiable delusion of the suffragist that she believes that the "revolution" she is furthering would end with the grant of the ballot, just as a *Laura Jean Libby* novel assumes that the wedding bell settles the happiness of two yearning lives. But just as in reality the true problem of future happiness but begins for the man and woman after they leave the altar, so will the real revolution implied in woman suffrage only begin with the grant of the ballot.

What that revolution must ultimately mean, not alone to the sex but to the race and its civilization,

the thoughtful opponents of woman suffrage will be under obligations to make known in Wisconsin during the coming months.

#### NOTES ON SUFFRAGE AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE

The proposed woman suffrage amendment in California is one of twenty-three proposed changes in the constitution which are to be voted on at a special election October 10th. It stands eighth in the list, the order of arrangement turning upon the order of introduction in the legislature. Under the provisions of law, printed copies of arguments for and against the proposed amendment have been distributed to the voters of the state. The argument in favor of the suffrage amendment was prepared by Senator Bell, the author of the proposition, and the argument against by Senator Sanford.

THE DAILY NEWS, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, in an article in its issue for July 22d, commenting upon the reply in the July REMONSTRANCE to the argument that the Wisconsin constitution does not "specifically exclude" women from the suffrage, says:

By implication, the Boston organ insists, the term "every male citizen" in the Badger constitution must be held to exclude women, "as it is practically identical with the suffrage clause in other constitutions held to exclude them." The Michigan constitution, for instance, provides that "every male inhabitant," etc., shall be an elector and entitled to vote," and there are no specific words limiting the ballot to this class. Yet it has always been assumed, and never denied, that the general ballot can be given to Michigan women only by constitutional amendment.

This admission is the more interesting because the Grand Rapids News is itself an ardent advocate of woman suffrage.

WHEN Representative Chandler voted against the woman suffrage bill in the Connecticut legislature last June, he explained his vote by saying that he knew of only one woman in his district who favored

woman suffrage and she was a socialist. In like manner, Senator Ferris of New York explained his vote against woman suffrage last July by the statement that, out of the 180,000 people whom he represented only three women and one man had asked him to vote for the measure. Similar instances might be cited by the score to show how slight is the impression which the suffrage agitation has made upon the views either of men or women.

ALL the world knows that at the last two general elections in England the sole issue was the veto power of the House of Lords. Even the attempt of the Opposition to introduce tariff reform and Irish home rule was a failure. Yet the English suffragists have actually put forward the fact that their opinions "had been at least twice submitted to the electors of the country" as a reason why special facilities should be given to the suffrage bill in the House of Commons next year. There were just two constituencies last December in which candidates submitted their views in favor of woman suffrage as a direct issue. One of them was rewarded by getting thirty-five votes; the other received twenty-two.

THE New York Senate definitely killed the woman suffrage proposition July 12th by refusing in committee of the whole, by a vote of sixteen ayes to seventeen noes, to advance the Stillwell resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution giving women the right to vote. This has been described in some suffrage quarters as a close vote. But it was close only in appearance. Constitutional amendments require in New York a two-thirds vote of the full membership of both houses. The New York Senate has fifty-one members. For favorable action, thirty-four votes would have been required. The actual affirmative vote, therefore, fell eighteen short of the number required.



ALL the clamor of the suffragettes cannot alter the fact that, of the women exercising municipal suffrage in England, those who are opposed to full suffrage outnumber those in favor more than two to one. This is not a mere general assertion, but a definitely ascertained fact. The London Anti-Suffrage Review publishes, from month to month, the results of a direct canvass of women municipal electors. At the last report, 72,481 women municipal voters in ninety-three parliamentary districts had expressed their views upon the proposed grant of parliamentary suffrage. Of these, 8,695 were neutral; 19,545 were in favor; and 44,241 were opposed.

MISS MARGARET FOLEY is reported in the Wakefield Item of August 17th, as saying, at a suffrage rally on Wakefield common the previous day, that "One of the first things that Colorado did after suffrage was allowed was to make equal the salaries of the men and women who taught in the public schools." But Miss Helen Sumner, herself an ardent suffragist, who went out to Colorado for the express purpose of studying conditions in that state, declares definitely that the difference between the salaries of men and women teachers in Colorado "instead of being unusually small is unusually large." Miss Foley will find this admission on page 157 of Miss Sumner's "Equal Suffrage." Even in their midsummer campaigning on town commons the suffragists should not make statements directly contrary to the facts.

"An atmosphere of assassination" is what an English writer declares to have existed among the English suffragists. The writer is Mr. Lyon Blease, and his book is "The Emancipation of Woman." On page 264, apropos of the agitation of the suffragists over the attitude of Premier Asquith and his Home Secretary, Mr. Blease says:

"The Prime Minister and the Home Secretary appeared at once in the light of personal enemies, and the justice of their assassination became quite a commonplace of discussion. It was certainly not contemplated by the leaders of any organization, but the atmosphere of assassination existed." This astonishing statement has attracted special attention because Mr. Blease is himself an ardent suffragist, and presumably familiar with suffragist sentiments and tendencies.

#### **"WILLOW PLUMES AND HOBBLE SKIRTS"**

FORECASTING the probable consequences of woman suffrage, Elizabeth du Bois Peck, writing in The New York Evening Post,—an ardent supporter of suffrage—remarks that "It is the empty-hearted, empty-headed women, whether rich or poor, that, with the ballot in their hands, would be a menace to civilization." These women, she thinks, would certainly vote, at least for a time: "The ballot would be willow-plumes and hobble-skirts to them, until some new fad arose and drew their whimsical fancy." And she concludes:

Thousands of women are better fitted to vote than the majority of men who exercise that coveted right; many women—though the number is less—are entirely fitted to vote. But what of the idle vote that would be doubled, what of the vicious vote that would be not only increased in quantity, but made even worse in quality? This is the riddle to be solved, and, like the Hatter's in "Alice in Wonderland," there does not seem to be any "answer."

#### **ENOUGH THOUGHTLESS VOTERS ALREADY**

(From The Troy Record, July 13, 1911)

THERE is a feeling among legislators and other citizens that the women themselves do not want the suffrage and that agitation is confined to a small, but energetic, minority. Certainly it has never been shown that enough women in this state are really anxious for the ballot to warrant the extension of the suffrage to them. Many men

theoretically believe in the principle, but feel it an unwise move until the desire among women to vote is so overwhelming that it is apparent that they will take a real and vital interest in public affairs when they get it. If woman's suffrage is to mean political activity only among the few who are active in demanding it, it would be of no advantage to the sex or the country. Its adoption should be based upon assurances of widespread and conscientious acceptance of the duties which would follow the ballot. There are enough thoughtless voters already.

#### **NOISE vs. NUMBERS**

(From the Portland Argus, June 9, 1911)

REFERRING to the woman's suffrage bill before the Connecticut Legislature, which has just been defeated, the Springfield Union remarks: "It is said that the women opposed to equal suffrage far outnumber the suffragists in Connecticut." The nutmeg State is no exception to the rule. In nearly all the States the women opposed to woman suffrage enormously outnumber the suffragists. The suffragists seek to make up with noise what they lack in numbers.

#### **WOMAN SUFFRAGE WOULD BRING NO RELIEF**

(From the North Adams Transcript, July 18, 1911)

MANY are prone to think that because the women they are associated with are intelligent and high-minded, the advent of woman's suffrage would solve all the troublous problems which confront the nation today, forgetting that the women's vote would include as large a proportion of "recent immigrants and illiterates" as does the men's vote, to say nothing of a purchasable and highly undesirable vote which would come to the front in "votes for women."

The Troy Press is right when it contends that those should vote who are fit to vote, male or female, and that those who are unfit to vote should be ruled out. But the introduction of woman's suffrage would not meet the case. It would merely add numbers to the fit and the unfit vote, and in such a step there would be no relief from the evils which now beset our political life.